



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

## FEBRUARY MEETING, 1892.

A STATED meeting was held on Thursday, the 11th instant, at three o'clock, P. M. ; the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting and the list of donors to the Library during the last month were read.

The President announced the death, on the 18th of January, of Benjamin Scott, Chamberlain of London, who was elected a Corresponding Member in February, 1871.

Communications from the third section having been called for, Mr. R. C. WINTHROP, Jr., said : —

I have a few words to say about a matter which our former President, Mr. Savage, described, in his Genealogical Dictionary, as “unimportant, but curious.” About ten pages of the first volume of that work are devoted to the enumeration of persons by the name of Adams among the early settlers of New England ; and in mentioning one Thomas Adams, about whom little is known, and who does not appear to have been related to any of the others, Mr. Savage alludes to what he styles the “ridiculous story” of his having been mistaken, at Stamford, Connecticut, in 1652, for no less a personage than his Majesty King Charles II., and in danger of being sent prisoner to England, but for the intervention of Sir Henry Moody and others who knew the exiled monarch by sight. Mr. Savage’s attention had been directed to this subject by our Corresponding Member Charles J. Hoadly, LL.D., now Vice-President of the Connecticut Historical Society, who, in editing the New Haven Colonial Records, had found in them contemporary mention of one Thomas Adams “marriner (as hee called himselfe) though in apparell and cariage hee acted a part as if hee had bine the King of Scots, or some greate prince (though not willing to be knowne) and by some was called King Tom,” and was affirmed by one Robert Bassett to be the fugitive King of England.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See New Haven Col. Rec. vol. ii. p. 60, and N. Y. Col. Doc. vol. iii. p. 39.

We all know that after the battle of Worcester Charles II. had experience of some strange hiding-places ; but it could not reasonably have occurred to him to cross the Atlantic and select a Puritan colony as a place of refuge, and we may feel a natural curiosity to know something more concerning the individual who seems to have been willing to impersonate him in Connecticut. Not long ago, in turning over some miscellaneous Winthrop papers which had been only partially examined, I stumbled on an isolated letter from this Thomas Adams, dated March 5, 1653-4, from a place the precise name of which I am not quite able to decipher, but which I think is Munades [Manhattan], and addressed to John Winthrop, Jr., then at Pequot. In it he explains that he had been intrusted by Sir Henry Moody with two books for Winthrop (books apparently of considerable value, as he was charged not to let them out of his own possession), and that, finding it impossible to deliver them in person as he had fully intended, he now forwarded them by one whom he believed to be a trusty messenger. The indorsement of this letter, in the unmistakable handwriting of John Winthrop, Jr., is simply "King Tom," thereby showing that two years after the occurrences at Stamford Adams was still familiarly known by this nickname. The name Thomas Adams certainly suggests an Englishman ; but the handwriting of this letter is distinctly continental, and, I think, Dutch ; while the style is that of a foreigner who spoke English with some freedom, yet not altogether intelligibly. So far as I am aware, this is the only letter of his in existence ; and I conjecture from it that the writer was of English parentage but bred in Holland. Had he been merely a vulgar adventurer or a crank, it does not seem likely that he would have been selected by Sir Henry Moody to take charge of a parcel of rare books, as Moody was an influential person on Long Island, and the son of the well-known Deborah, Lady Moody, who once resided in Lynn. I think it more probable that Adams was an educated man, who, either as a joke or to enhance his consequence, availed himself of an accidental resemblance to mystify his associates. Mr. Savage assumes him to have been identical with the Thomas Adams who took the oath of fidelity at New Haven in 1657, and who ten years afterward married Rebecca, daughter of William Potter, of New Haven ; but this does not

appear to be proved, and I shall be obliged if any member can throw additional light on the subject.

Mr. Winthrop then offered the following Resolution, which he accompanied with some explanation, and which was passed without debate:—

Whereas it is generally understood that the Council has recently had under consideration the subject of membership, and has adopted in principle the recommendations of a Report signed by three of its members, dealing at some length with the various classes of persons entitled to be represented in the Society and the best policy to be pursued in the selection of candidates; and whereas this subject is one of peculiar interest to the Society at large, in view of the discussions which have sometimes arisen concerning the relative claims of different gentlemen whose names appeared in the Nomination-book: therefore

*Resolved*, That the Council be requested to submit to the Society at its next meeting any conclusions it may have arrived at upon abstract questions of membership, together with any Reports which may have been addressed to the Council upon the subject, so far as the same may properly be made part of our printed Proceedings.

Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR communicated the following paper, and made a few extemporaneous remarks by way of introduction:—

*The Results in Europe of Cartier's Explorations, 1542-1603.*

The results of Cartier's explorations came slowly to the knowledge of contemporary cartographers. In the year of Cartier's return from his second voyage (1536), Alonso de Chaves, the official cosmographer of Spain, made a plot of the North American coast. Although the Spaniards were keeping close watch on the northern explorations of their rivals, it is apparent that Chaves had not heard of Cartier's movements. This map of Chaves is not preserved; but there is a map by Gutierrez (1550), known to us, which is held to be based on Chaves. This Gutierrez map gives no trace of the French voyages; nor does Oviedo, the Spanish historian, who wrote the next year (1537) with Chaves's map before him, give us

any ground for discrediting the map of Gutierrez as indicating the features of that by Chaves. The next year (1538), the rising young Flemish map-maker, Gerard Mercator, made his earliest map, which shows that no tidings of the Cartier voyages had yet reached the Low Countries. He did not even recognize the great Square Gulf, which had appeared in the Ptolemy of 1511, as premonitory of the Gulf which Cartier had circumnavigated, though three years later Mercator affords a faint suspicion of it in his gores of 1541.

We do not find any better information in the best of the contemporary cosmographers. Münster in Germany (1540) widened a little the passage which severed Newfoundland from the main, and so did the Italian Vopellio; but Ulpius, making the globe at Rome, in 1542, which is now owned by the New York Historical Society, seems not to have been even thus imperfectly informed. The French globe-maker, who not far from the same time made the sphere preserved at Nancy, knew only enough to make a group of islands beyond the Newfoundland banks.

We turn to something more intimately connected with Cartier's own work. It might go without saying that Cartier would plot his own tracks; but we have no written evidence that he did, other than a letter of his grand-nephew fifty years later, who says that he himself had inherited one such map. We must look to three or four maps, made within five years of Cartier's last voyage, and which have come down to us, to find how the last charts of Cartier affected cartographical knowledge in certain circles in France, and placed the geography of the St. Lawrence on a basis which was not improved for sixty years.

Those who have compared the early maps find the oldest cartographical record which we have of Cartier's first voyage (1534) in a document by Jean Rotz, dated eight years later, and preserved in the British Museum. Harrisson thinks that back of this Rotz map there is another, known as the Harleian mappemonde, which is deposited in the same collection. But the draft by Rotz is the better known of the two. Its designer is held to be a Frenchman, which may account for his acquaintance with Malouin sources. This "Booke of Idrography," as Rotz calls it, contains two maps which interest us. One shows the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the opening into the river,

which indicates an acquaintance with the extent of Cartier's first explorations (1534), and may well have been made some years before the date of the manuscript which contains it. If its outline is interpreted correctly, in making Anticosti a peninsula connecting with the southern shore of the St. Lawrence River, it is a further proof that a foggy distance prevented Cartier from suspecting that he was crossing the main channel of the St. Lawrence, when he sailed from Gaspé to the Anticosti shores. The other map may be nearer the date of the manuscript, for it carries the river much farther from the gulf, and indicates a knowledge of Cartier's second voyage.

Two years later (1544) there was the first sign in an engraved map of Cartier's success, — the now famous Cabot *mappe-monde*, — and this was a year before any narrative of his second voyage was printed. As but a single copy is known of both map and narrative, it is possible that the publication was not welcome to the government, and the editions of the two were suppressed as far as could be. The solitary map was found in Germany, and is now in the great library at Paris. The sole copy of the "*Bref Récit*," published at Paris in 1545, is in the British Museum, among the books which Thomas Grenville collected.

To test this published narrative, scholars have had recourse to three manuscripts, preserved in the Paris Library; varying somewhat, and giving evidence that before the text was printed, it had circulated in hand-written copies, all made apparently by the same penman. It was probably from the printed text that both Hakluyt and Ramusio made their versions to be published at a later day.

The suppression, if there was such, of the Cabot map is more remarkable; for this Paris copy is the only one which has come down to us out of several editions — Harrissee says four — in which it appeared. This multiplicity of issue is inferred from the description of copies varying, but it is not sure whether these changes indicate anything more than tentative conditions of the plates. That the map embodies some conception of the Cartier explorations is incontestable. It gives vaguely a shape to the gulf conformable to Cartier's track, and makes evident the course of the great tributary, as far as Cartier explored it. There are many signs in this part of the map, however, that Cartier's own plot could not have been used at

first hand, and the map in its confused nomenclature and antiquated geographical notions throughout indicates that the draft was made by a 'prentice hand. The profession of one of its legends — of late critically set forth from the study of them by Dr. Deane in our Proceedings (February, 1891) — that Sebastian Cabot was its author, is to be taken with much modification. The map is at least an indication that the results of Cartier's voyages had within a few years become in a certain sense public property. It happens that most of what we know respecting the genesis of the map is from English sources, or sources which point to England; but the map, it seems probable, was made in Flanders, and not in France, nor in Spain, the country with which Cabot's official standing connected him. It looks very much like a surreptitious publication, which, to avoid the scrutiny of the Spanish Hydrographical Office, had been made beyond their reach, while an anonymous publication of it protected the irresponsible maker or makers from official annoyance. This may account for its rarity, and perhaps for the incompleteness of its information.

Better information, mixed apparently with some knowledge derived from the Portuguese voyages, — and certainly chronicling Portuguese discoveries in other parts of the globe, — and so presenting some but not great differences, appears in another map of about the same date, known as the Nicholas Valard map. When Dr. Kohl brought it anew to the attention of scholars, it was in the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps in England; but there is reason to suppose that not far from the date of its making, it had been owned in Dieppe. The maker of it may have profited directly from French sources, particularly in the embellishment upon it, which seems to represent events in Roberval's experiences.

There is, likewise, another map of this period which is still more intimately connected with Cartier's movements; indeed, it can hardly have been made independently of material which he furnished. This is the one fashioned by the order of the king for the Dauphin's instruction, just before the latter succeeded his father as Henry II. A few years ago Mr. Major, of the British Museum, deciphered a legend upon it, which showed that it was the handiwork of Pierre Desceliers, a Dieppe map-maker then working at Arques. This fact, as well

as its official character, brings it close to the prime sources ; and the map may even identify these sources in the representations of Roberval and his men, as they are grouped on the banks of the St. Lawrence. I am informed by the present owner, the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, that an attempt at one time to efface the legend which discloses its authorship has obscured but has not destroyed the lettering. The map formerly belonged to Jomard, the geographer.

There are only the sketch maps of Allefonsce which can be traced nearer the explorers themselves than the maps already mentioned. What this pilot of Roberval drew on the spot we know not, but he attempted, in 1545, in a rude way to draw upon his experiences in a little treatise. This manuscript "Cosmographie," in which the coast-lines are washed in at the top of its sheets, is preserved in the National Library at Paris. Several modern writers have used them, and the sketches have been more than once copied. Bibliographers know better, however, a little chapbook, which ran through at least four editions in the interval before new interest in Canada was awakened by Champlain. It was first published in 1559 after the death of Allefonsce ; and his name, which appears in the title, "Les voyages aventureux du Capitaine Alfonse Saintongeois," was apparently made prominent to help the sale of the book, rather than to indicate the intimate connection of the redoubtable pilot with it. His manuscript "Cosmographie" had been prepared by himself for the royal eye, while this printed production, which was issued at Poitiers, was dressed up by others for the common herd, without close adherence to the manuscript. A popular local bard sets forth pretty much all we know of its hero in some preliminary verses. Like all chapbooks, the little volume has become rare ; and when a copy was sold in Dr. Court's collection (1885), it was claimed that only three copies had been sold in France in thirty years.

The most prolific map-maker of this period in Europe was Baptista Agnese of Venice. He had a deft hand, which made his *portolanos* merchantable. The dexterity of their drawing has perhaps enhanced their value enough to prevent careless use of them, so that they are not infrequent in Italian libraries, and will be found in almost all the large collections in Europe. One certainly has found its way to America, and is preserved in the Carter-Brown Library at Providence. Though Agnese

was making these maps for over a quarter of a century, beginning about the time of Cartier's activity, he never much varied from the conventional types which successively marked the stages of geographical knowledge. He has hardly a map which can be accounted a turning-point in American geography, and his drafts simply follow the prevailing notions.

Thus it was that for sixteen years after Cartier and Roberval had finished their work, the French public was made acquainted only with the "Bref Récit" and the scant narrative to which the popularity of Allefonsce's name had given a forced currency. The European scholar fared better than the provincial Frenchman; for the third volume of the "Raccolta" of Ramusio, which was devoted wholly to American discovery, had appeared in Venice in 1556. It is a chief source still to be consulted for the earliest explorations of the St. Lawrence region. It is here that we find an account of that "Gran Capitano," identified with the Dieppese navigator, Jean Parmentier, who visited the Baccalaos region in the early years of that century. Here, too, we derive a scant knowledge of Denys and Aubert, as already mentioned. But it is concerning the first voyage of Cartier that Ramusio helps us most. Where he got his records of that enterprise of 1534, it is not easy to conjecture, and what he says remained for a long while the sum of all that was known concerning it. That there were originally several manuscript texts of this narrative, varying enough in the copying to make differences that became distinguishable, appears to be certain; but it is not so easy to trace them distinctively in the various printed texts which have been published. The text in Ramusio was without doubt used by John Florio in making the early English translation (London, 1580), which is the source of most that has appeared in that language respecting the voyage. A Norman publisher at Rouen printed a French text, and it is not quite certain that he used Ramusio. It has been suspected that, in pretending to make a translation, this editor may possibly have used an official narrative, and that his pretence was intended to conceal a surreptitious use of a forbidden paper. When Tross reprinted this little book (Paris, 1865), he could find only one copy, and that was in the great Paris Library; but Harrissee later discovered a copy in the Ste. Genevieve Library. The fact that the book has nearly passed out of sight might indicate, as with the

“Bref Récit,” that there was either a suppression of it or an inordinately hard use of it by readers. Two years after publishing this “Discours du Voyage” (1867), Tross surprised the critics by publishing a “Relation originale,” as if it were Cartier’s own narrative of this first voyage. The arguments of Michelant, the editor, in supporting this view of its authenticity are strong, but hardly conclusive. This precious manuscript was discovered in the Paris Library in 1867, having previously escaped notice.

In the year before the appearance of the American section of Ramusio, and probably two years after that Italian editor had gathered his material, the Spanish historian, Gomara, showed in his “Historia General” (Saragossa, 1555), that intelligence of Cartier’s exploits had reached him in some confused form. Indeed, Gomara is rarely critical in what he offers. It will be remembered that Cartier had given the name of “Saint Laurents” to a small estuary in the gulf, and it has never been quite established when the same name gained currency as the appellation of the gulf itself, and of the great river of Canada. Nevertheless Gomara writes in 1555, or perhaps a year earlier, that “a great river called San Lorenzo, which some think an arm of the sea [*i. e.* leading to Cathay] has been sailed up for two hundred leagues, and is called by some the Strait of the Three Brothers.”

We may consider that from the Rotz, Vallard, Cabot, and Desceliers maps, pretty nearly all the ground that Cartier’s own maps could have disclosed is deducible by the careful student, and that a large part of our history of this obscure period is necessarily derived from such studies. Now, what was the effect of these cartographical records upon the maps of the St. Lawrence for the rest of that century?

This question brings us to consider nearly all the leading European cartographers of the sixteenth century, to whatever maritime peoples they belong. The most famous and learned of the German cosmographers, Sebastian Münster, contented himself with insularizing a region which he associated with the earlier Cortereal. Pedro Medina, the leading Spanish writer on seamanship, in his “Arte de Navegar,” and in other books, for a score of years after this, used a map on which there was merely a conventional gulf and river. Baptista Agnese was

continuing to figure the coast about Newfoundland in absolute ignorance of the French discoveries of ten years before.

We are in 1546 first introduced to Giacomo Gastaldi, a Venetian map-maker of reputation throughout Italy. He gives us a map which was included in Lafreri's atlas. It looks like a distinct recognition of Cartier, in a long river which flows into a bay behind an island. This is the more remarkable because, when he was employed two years later to make the maps for the Venetian edition of Ptolemy (1548), he reverted to the old pre-Cartier notions of an archipelago and rudimentary rivers.

When Ramusio was gathering his American data at this time, he depended on an old friend, Frascastoro, to supply the illustrative maps. This gentleman, now in advanced years, was living on his estate near Verona, and in correspondence with geographical students throughout Europe. Oviedo had sent some navigator's charts to him from Spain, and Ramusio tells us that similar information had come to him from France relative to the discoveries in New France. These charts, placed by Frascastoro in Ramusio's hands, were by this editor committed to Gastaldi. The result was the general map of America which appears in the third volume of the "Raccolta." This map is singularly inexpressive for the Baccalaos region. Something more definite is revealed in another map, more confined in its range. A study of this last map makes one feel as if the rudimentary rivers of the Ptolemy map (1548) had suggested a network of rivers, stretching inland. It has one feature in the shoals about Sable Island so peculiar and so closely resembling that feature in Rotz's map, that Gastaldi must have worked with that map before him, or he must have used the sources of that map. With this exception there is absolutely nothing in the map showing any connection with the cartography of the Cartier-Roberval expedition. These features stand, in fact, for earlier notions, and are made to illustrate the narrative of the "Gran Capitano."

There is a Portuguese map by Johannes Freire, which must have been based on Cartier's second voyage, for it leaves undeveloped the west coast of Newfoundland, which Cartier followed in 1534. Another Portuguese map, which at one time was owned by Jomard, shows acquaintance with both the first and second

voyages of Cartier, as does the Portuguese atlas, with French leanings, which is preserved in the Archives of the Marine at Paris, and is ascribed to Guillaume le Testu. A popular map by Bellerio, used in various Antwerp publications of this period, utterly ignores the French discoveries.

The map of Homem in 1558 is an interesting one. It is in an atlas of this Portuguese hydrographer, preserved in the British Museum. It is strongly indicative of independent knowledge, but whence it came is not clear. He worked in Venice, a centre of such knowledge at this time; and Homem's map is a proof of the way in which nautical intelligence failed to establish itself in the Atlantic seaports, but rather found recognition for the benefit of later scholars in this Adriatic centre. It is in this map, for instance, that we get the earliest recognizable plotting of the Bay of Fundy. But with all his alertness, the material which Ramusio had already used respecting Cartier's first voyage seems to have escaped him, or perhaps Homem failed to understand that navigator's track where it revealed the inside coast of Newfoundland. What he found in any of the accounts of the Cartier voyages to warrant his making the north bank of the St. Lawrence an archipelago skirting the Arctic Sea, is hard to say; but Homem is not the only one who developed this notion. We have seen that Allefonsce believed that the Saguenay conducted to such a sea, and there are other features of that pilot's sketches which are consonant with such a view; while a network of straits and channels pervading this Canadian region is a feature of some engraved maps at a considerably later day. Homem living in Venice most probably was in consultation with Ramusio, and may have had access to the store of maps which Frascastoro submitted to Gastaldi. Indeed Ramusio intimates, in the introduction to his third volume, that this Canadian region may yet be found to be cut up into islands, and he says that the reports of Cartier had left this uncertainty in his mind. The stories which Cartier had heard of great waters lying beyond the points he had reached, had doubtless something to do with these fancies of the map-makers.

When the learned Italian Ruscelli printed his translation of Ptolemy at Venice (1561), he added his own maps, for he was a professional cartographer. He also apparently profited by Ramusio's introduction to the collection of Frascastoro; for the

map which he gave of "Tierra nueva" reverted to the same material of the pre-Cartier period which had been used by Gastaldi, showing that he either was ignorant of the claims of Cartier's discoveries or that he rejected them. Ruscelli clung to this belief pertinaciously, and never varied his map in successive editions for a dozen years; and during this interval Agnese (1564) and Porcacchi (1572) copied him.

We have two maps in 1566 in which the Cartier voyages are recognized, but in quite different ways. The map of Nicolas des Liens of Dieppe was acquired by the great library of Paris in 1857, and the visitor there to-day can see it under glass in the geographical department. It is very pronounced in the record of Cartier; for his name is displayed along the shore of a broad sound, which is made to do duty for the St. Lawrence. The other is the map of Zaltieri, with an inscription, in which the author claims to have received late information from the French. In this map the St. Lawrence is merely a long waving line, and the river is made to flow on each side of a large island into a bay studded with islands.

Three or four years later we come to the crowning work of Gerard Mercator in his great planisphere of 1569; and a year later to the atlas of the famous Flemish geographer who did so much to revolutionize cartography, — Abraham Ortelius. The great bay has now become, with Mercator, the Gulf of St. Lawrence (*Sinus Laurentii*); but the main river is left without a name, and is carried far west beyond Hochelaga (Montreal) to a water-shed, which separates the great interior valley of the Continent from the Pacific slope. Here was what no one had before attempted in interpretation of the vague stories which Cartier had heard from the Indians. Mercator makes what is apparently the Ottawa open a water-way, as Cartier could have fancied it, when he gazed from the summit of Mont Royale. This passage carried the imagination into the great country of the Saguenay, which the Indians told of, as bounding on a large body of fresh water. It seems easy to suppose that this was an interpretation of that route which in the next generation conducted many a Jesuit to the Georgian Bay, and so developed the upper lakes long before the shores of Lake Erie were comprehended. Not one of the earlier maps had divined this possible solution of Cartier's problem; and Mercator did it, so far as we can now see, with nothing to

aid him but a study of Cartier's narrative, or possibly of Cartier's maps or data copied from them. It was one of those feats of prescience through comparative studies which put that Flemish geographer at the head of his profession. By a similar insight he was the first to map out a great interior valley to the continent, separated from the Atlantic slope by a mountainous range that could well stand for the Alleghanies. Dr. Kohl suggests that Mercator might have surmised this eastern water-shed of the great interior valley, by studying the reports of De Soto in his passage to the Mississippi, during the very year when Cartier and Roberval were developing the great northern valley. There was yet no conception of the way in which these two great valleys so nearly touched at various points that the larger was eventually to be entered from the lesser.

Before Mercator's death (1594) he felt satisfied that the great mass of fresh water, to which the way by the Ottawa pointed, connected with the Arctic seas. This he made evident by his globe-map of 1587. Earlier, in 1570, he had conveniently hidden the uncertainty by partly covering the limits of such water by a vignette. Hakluyt in the same year (1587) thought it best to leave undefined the connections of such a fresh-water sea. The map-makers struggled for many years over this uncertain northern lake, which Mercator had been the first to suggest from Cartier's data. Ortelius also (1570, 1575, etc.) was induced to doubt the fresh character of this sea, and made it a mere gulf of the Arctic Ocean, stretched toward the south. In this he was followed by Popellinière (1582), Gallæus (1585), Münster (1595), Linschoten (1598), Botero (1603), and others. It is fair to observe, however, that Ortelius in one of his maps (1575) has shunned the conclusion, and Metellus (1600) was similarly cautious when he used the customary vignette to cover what was doubtful. There was at the same time no lack of believers in the fresh-water theory, as is apparent in the map of Judæis (1593), DeBry (1596), Wytfliet (1597), and Quadus (1600), not to name others. These theorizers, while they connected it with a salt northern sea, made current for a while the name of Lake Conibas, as applied to the fresh-water basin. This body of water seemed in still later maps after Hudson's time to shift its position, and was merged in the great bay discovered by

that navigator. It was not till a suggestion appeared in one of the maps of the Arnheim Ptolemy of 1597, made more emphatic by Molineaux in 1600, that this fitting interior sea was made to be the source of the St. Lawrence, while it was at the same time supposed to have some outlet in the Arctic Ocean. The great interior lakes were then foreshadowed in the "Lacke of Tadenac, the bounds whereof are unknown," as Molineaux's legend reads.

The English indeed had become active in this geographical quest very shortly after Mercator and Ortelius had well established their theories in the public mind. Sir Humphrey Gilbert had not indeed penetrated this region; but when he published his map in 1576 he had helped to popularize a belief in a multitudinous gathering of islands in what was now called the land of Canada. Frobisher's explorations were farther to the north, and his map (1578) professed that in these higher latitudes there was a way through the continent. Hakluyt, in his "Westerne Planting," tells us that the bruit of Frobisher's voyage had reached Ortelius, and had induced that geographer to come to England in 1577, "to pry and looke into the secretes of Frobisher's Voyadge." Hakluyt further says that this "greate geographer" told him at this time "that if the warres of Flaunders had not bene, they of the Lowe Countries had meant to have discovered those partes of America and the northweste straite before this tyme." Hakluyt had it much at heart to invigorate an English spirit of discovery, and the treatise just quoted was written for that purpose. "Yf wee doe procrastinate the plantinge," he says, "the Frenche, the Normans, the Brytons or the Duche or some other nation will not onely prevente us of the mightie Baye of St. Lawrence, where they have gotten the starte of us already, though we had the same revealed to us by bookes published and printed in Englishe before them." It is not easy to satisfy one's self as to what Hakluyt refers, when he implies that previous to Cartier's voyage there had been English books making reference to the St. Lawrence Gulf. Modern investigators have indeed in English books found only the scantiest mention of American explorations before Eden printed his translation of Münster in 1553, nearly twenty years after Cartier's first voyage. The late Dr. Charles Deane in commenting on Hakluyt's words could

give no satisfactory explanation of what seems to be their plain meaning.

The year before Hakluyt wrote this sentence he had given up an intention of joining in Gilbert's last expedition, and had gone to Paris (1583) as chaplain to Sir Edward Stafford. While in that city we find him busy with "diligent inquiries of such things as may yeeld any light unto our westerne discoverie," making to this end such investigations as he could respecting current and contemplated movements of the Spanish and French. In this same essay on "Westerne Planting" Hakluyt drew attention to what he understood Cartier to say of a river that can be followed for three months "southwarde from Hochelaga." Whether this refers to some Indian story of a way by Lake Champlain and the Hudson, or to the longer route from the Iroquois country to the Ohio and Mississippi, may be a question; if indeed it may not mean that the St. Lawrence itself bent towards the south and found its rise in a warmer clime, as the cartographers who were contemporaries of Hakluyt made it. Hakluyt further translates what Cartier makes Donnacona and other Indians say of these distant parts where the people are "clad with clothes as wee [the French] are, very honest, and many inhabited townes, and that they had greate store of golde and redde copper; and that within the land beyonde the said firste ryver unto Hochelaga and Saguinay, ys an iland envyroned rounde aboute with that and other ryvers, and that there is a sea of freshe water founde, as they have hearde say of those of Saguenay, there was never man hearde of, that founde vnto the begynnyng and ende thereof." Here is the warrant that Mercator and his followers found for their sea of sweet water. Hakluyt adds: "In the Frenche originall, which I sawe in the Kinges library at Paris, yt is further put downe, that Donnacona, the Kinge of Canada, in his barke had traueled to that contrie where cynamon and cloves are had." Hakluyt, with the tendency of his age, could not help associating this prolonged passage with a new way to Cathay, and he cites in support "the judgements of Gerardus Mercator, that excellent geographer, in a letter of his," which his son had shown to Hakluyt, saying, "There is no doubt but there is a streighte and shorte waye open unto the west, even to Cathaio." Hakluyt then

closes his list of reasons for believing in this ultimate passage by adding, in the words of Ramusio, that "if the Frenchmen in this their Nova Francia woulde have discovered upp farther into the lande towards the west northwest partes, they shoulde have founde the sea and have sailed to Cathaio."

Before Hakluyt published any map of his own, there were two English maps which became prominent. In 1580 Dr. John Dee presented to Queen Elizabeth a map which is preserved in the British Museum. It has nothing to distinguish it from the other maps of the time, which show a St. Lawrence River greatly prolonged. The second map was far more distinctive and more speculative. Ruscelli in 1561 and Martines in 1578 had represented the country south of the Lower St. Lawrence as an island, with a channel on the west of it, connecting the Atlantic with the great river of Canada. This view was embodied by Master Michael Lok in this other map, in union with other prevalent notions already mentioned, of a neighboring archipelago between the St. Lawrence and the Arctic waters. In this way Lok made the great river rather an ocean inlet than an affluent of the gulf. Hakluyt adopted this map in his little "Divers Voyages" (1582) to illustrate an account of the voyage of Verrazano, and curiously did so, because there is no trace of Verrazano in the map except the great western sea, which had long passed into oblivion with other cartographers.

When Hakluyt again came before the public in an edition of the eight decades of Peter Martyr's "De orbe novo," which he printed at Paris in 1587, he added a map bearing the initials "F. G." This map may be supposed to embody the conclusions which Hakluyt had reached after his years of collecting material. He had, as we have seen, already reviewed the field in his "Westerne Planting," where he had adopted the Mercator theory of the access by the Ottawa to the great fresh-water lake of the Indian tales.

Jacques Noël, a grand-nephew of Cartier, writing from St. Malo in 1587, refers to this F. G. map of Hakluyt, as putting down "the great lake" of Canada much too far to the north to be in accordance with one of Cartier's maps which he professed to have. This Noël had been in the country, and re-

ported the Indians as saying that the great lake was ten days above the rapids (near Montreal). He had been at the rapids, and reported them to be in  $44^{\circ}$  north latitude.

In 1590 Hakluyt was asking Ortelius, through a relative of the Antwerp geographer then living in London, to publish a map of the region north of Mexico and towards the Arctic seas. Ortelius signified his willingness to do so, if Hakluyt would furnish the data. In the same year the English geographer wrote to Ortelius at Antwerp, urging him, if he made a new map, to insert "the strait of the Three Brothers in its proper place, as there is still hope of discovering it some day, and we may by placing it in the map remove the error of those cosmographers who do not indicate it." It is apparent, by Hakluyt's accompanying drawing, that he considered the "*Fretum trium fratrum*" to be in latitude  $70^{\circ}$  north.

There was a temptation to the geographer to give a striking character to the reports or plots of returned navigators. Mercator compliments Ortelius on his soberness in using such plots, and complains that geographical truth is much corrupted by map-makers, and that those of Italy are specially bad.

The maps that succeeded, down to the time when Champlain made a new geography for the valley of the St. Lawrence, added little to the conceptions already mastered by the chief cartographers. The idea of the first explorers that America was but the eastern limits of Asia may be said to have vanished at the same time; for the map of Myritius of near this date (1587, 1590) is perhaps the last of the maps to hold to the belief.

While all this speculative geography was forming and disappearing with an obvious tendency to a true conception of the physical realities of the problem, there was scarcely any attempt made to help solve the question by exploration. There was indeed a continuance of the fishing voyages of the Normans and Bretons to the banks, and the fishermen ran into the inlets near the Gulf to dry their fish and barter trinkets with the natives for walrus tusks; but we find no record of any one turning the point of Gaspé and going up the river. There was at the same time no official patronage of exploration. The politics of France were far too unquiet. Henry II. had as much as he could do to maintain his struggles with Charles V.

and Philip II. St. Quentin and Gravelines carried French chivalry down to the dust. The persecution of the Protestants in the brief reign of Francis II., the machinations of Catharine de' Medici and the supremacy of the Guises kept attention too constantly upon domestic hazards to permit the government to glance across the sea. All efforts under Charles IX. to secure internal peace were but transient. Every interval of truce between the rival religions only gave opportunities for new conspiracies. The baleful night of St. Bartholomew saw thirty thousand Huguenots plunged into agony and death. The wars of the League which followed were but a prolonged combat for Huguenot existence. Henry III. during fifteen years of blood played fast and loose with both sides. Henry IV. fought at Arques and Ivry to preserve his crown, and abjured his faith in the end as a better policy to the same end. At last these tumultuous years yielded to the promulgation of the famous edict at Nantes (April 15, 1598), and in the rest which came later the times grew ripe for new enterprises beyond the sea.

We have seen that it was to the labors of Hakluyt and Ramusio during these sixty years that we owe a large part of the current knowledge of what were then the last official expeditions to Canada. That private enterprise did not cease to connect the French ports with the fishery and trade of the gulf and its neighboring ports is indeed certain, though Garneau speaks of this interval as that of a temporary abandonment of Canada. Gosselin and other later investigators have found entries made of numerous local outfits for voyages from Honfleur and other harbors. Such mariners never, however, so far as we know, contemplated the making of discoveries. Old fishermen are noted as having grown gray in forty years' service on the coast; and there is reason to believe that during some seasons as many as three or four hundred fishing-crafts may have dipped to their anchors hereabouts, and half of them French. Some of them added the pursuit of trade, and chased the walrus. Breton babies grew to know the cunning skill which in leisure hours was bestowed by these mariners on the ivory trifles which amused their households. Norman maidens were decked with the fur which their brothers had secured from the Esquimaux. Parkman found, in a letter of Menendez to Philip of Spain, that from as far south as the

Potomac Indian canoes crawled northward along the coast, till they found Frenchmen in the Newfoundland waters to buy their peltries. Bréard has of late, in his "*Marine Normande*," thrown considerable light upon these fishing and trading voyagers, but there is no evidence of their passing into the great river.

Once, indeed, it seemed as if the French monarch, who had occasionally sent an armed vessel to protect his subjects in this region against the English, Spanish, and Portuguese, awoke to the opportunities that were passing; and in 1577 he commissioned Troilus du Mesgonez, Marquis de la Roche, to lead a colony to Canada, and the project commanded the confidence of the merchants of Rouen, Caen, and Lisieux. Captain J. Carleill, writing in 1583, in his "*Entended Voyage to America*," tells us that the French were trying to overcome the distrust of the Indians, which the kidnapping exploits of Cartier had implanted. Whether any such fear of the native animosity stood in the way of La Roche's enterprise or not, is not evident; but certain it is, that he did not sail, and the king remained without a representative on the St. Lawrence. This sovereign gave, however, in 1588, in requital of claims made by the heirs of Cartier for his unrewarded services, a charter to two of that navigator's nephews, Etienne Charton and Jacques Noël, in which he assigned to them for twelve years the right to trade for furs and to work mines, with the privilege of a commercial company. The grant was made partly to enable the heirs to carry out Cartier's injunctions to his descendants not to abandon the country of Canada.

Such reserved privileges were a blow to the merchants of St. Malo, and they drew the attention of the Breton parliament to the monopoly in such a way that the king found it prudent to rescind the charter, except so far as to mine at Cap de Conjugon. No one knows where that cape was, or that any mining was done there. So a second royal project came to naught.

It would have been better if the first expedition that really got off had never started. A few years later La Roche, who had had much tribulation since his last luckless effort, was commissioned (Jan. 12, 1590) to lead once more a colony to the St. Lawrence. By this act that king revived the powers which Francis I. had conferred on Roberval. Chartering two

vessels and, in default of better colonists, filling them with convicts, La Roche sailed west and made Sable Island. Such portion of his company as he did not need while exploring for a site, he landed on this desert spot, not without raising the suspicion that he did not dare to land them on the mainland, for fear of their deserting him. While searching for a place to settle, heavy gales blew his exploring ships out to sea, and back to France. Those whom he had abandoned at Sable Island were not rescued till 1603, when twelve had died.

This is the last scene of that interval which we have been considering; but in the near future other spirits were to animate New France, in the persons of Pontgravé, Champlain, and their associates, and a new period of exploration was to begin.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN then made the following remarks:

On Monday last I received from the widow of Dr. Buckminster Brown a carved wooden goblet, which was bequeathed by him to the Historical Society with the request that I should present it, "in person or by letter, with a written description of it"; and in accordance with his wishes it is now so given. She has furnished me with the following history and description, as drawn up for the most part by her late husband:—

*Dr. Buckminster Brown's History of the Carved Wooden Goblet which he leaves to the Massachusetts Historical Society in his will, dated June 5, 1888.*

In 1849 I attended Mr. and Mrs. Alexander Parker, English people recently arrived in an emigrant ship. They had typhus fever on board ship, and many of their goods and chattels had been thrown overboard. Mr. Parker was a basket-maker. I attended these people, from time to time, until 1854. They had a great deal of sickness, but could not pay any money for attendance. Mr. Parker's father was a gardener on one of the old estates in England, and the son had tried to earn a living by basket-making.

At various times, when making my visits, I noticed a beautifully shaped vase or goblet, covered with quaint carvings and an inscription. The inscription began on the upper outside rim of the goblet, and then continued on the upper part of the base, and thence ran around the under part of the base or bottom of the goblet. It runs thus:—

Accept my smale Gyfte and Good Will:  
Desiring God to Blesse you still:  
& send you many

*[On the upper surface of the base]*

Yeers of Joy.  
By Walking in the Liuing Way:  
God Grant so to all his Elect:  
In whom

*[On the lower surface]*

His Word takes Good Effect:  
Drinke so that You'may euer Liue:  
Such Drinke the Lord of Lyfe Doth Giue:  
To those whom he redeemed Deare:  
Who With Pure hearts his Word do heare.

*[Date, in large figures, on face of goblet]*

### 1620

There are also, on the face of the goblet, four curious figures, which, after consulting two or three persons who have made such matters a study, I have concluded are crests from the coats-of-arms of the lord and lady of the estate within whose domain was the chapel where this goblet was probably the Communion cup, — the inscription showing this cup was a gift to be used for sacred purposes.

It was without doubt a sacramental cup, a gift to a chapel. Probably it was made, designed, and inscribed as a gift from the land-owner to a chapel on his estate.

This goblet was afterwards given to Dr. Buckminster Brown by the survivor of these two old people, and is now, by his request, presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society, through Dr. Samuel A. Green.

February, 1892.

Dr. Brown was a son of Dr. John Ball and Rebecca (Warren) Brown, and born in Boston, on July 13, 1819. He graduated at the Harvard Medical School in the Class of 1844, and died at Auburndale, on December 24, 1891.

Mrs. Brown has supplemented the bequest by a gift of some interesting manuscripts connected with the Warren family and relating to the Revolutionary period, and of a little book, entitled "Stories about General Warren," by a Lady of Boston [Mrs. Rebecca (Warren) Brown].

Since the last meeting I have also received from the widow of Col. William Warland Clapp the original subscription pa-

per to the dinner in commemoration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Settlement of Boston, which was shown in these rooms at the last February meeting, and subsequently printed in the Proceedings. After Colonel Clapp's lamented death on December 8, 1891, the paper was found among his effects in an envelope, marked: "Quite valuable. I enclose this for the Mass. Historical Society, to be given through Dr. S. A. Green"; and, in compliance with this request, it is now so presented.

It is a gratifying fact to know that persons outside of the membership look upon the Society as a safe depository for relics and manuscripts of an historical character; and it is a coincidence that within a few days it should have fallen to my lot in this way to carry out the last wishes of two old friends.

Mr. GAMALIEL BRADFORD read some extracts from Fiske's "Critical Period of American History," and then spoke briefly of the condition of the country at the close of the War of the Revolution as contrasted with its condition at the close of the Rebellion and at the present time.

Mr. JAMES M. BUGBEE communicated the memoir of the late Hon. Samuel C. Cobb, which he had been appointed to prepare for the Proceedings.

During the meeting remarks of a conversational character were made by the PRESIDENT, Mr. CHARLES F. ADAMS, Rev. Dr. EDMUND F. SLAFTER, Mr. HENRY W. HAYNES, Mr. EDWARD J. LOWELL, and Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN.

MEMOIR  
OF  
HON. SAMUEL CROCKER COBB.

BY JAMES M. BUGBEE.

---

SAMUEL CROCKER COBB was a descendant in the fifth generation from Austin (or Augustine) Cobb, who first appears as a resident of Taunton, Massachusetts, in 1670, and who received a deed of his farm in that town from John Cobb, his cousin,<sup>1</sup> Aug. 13, 1679. Gen. David Cobb, the great-grandson of Augustine, was born in Attleborough, Massachusetts, Sept. 14, 1748, and died in Taunton, April 14, 1830. He was a man of varied accomplishments, and played a conspicuous part during and following the period of the Revolutionary War. After graduating from Harvard College in the class of 1766, he studied medicine under Dr. Nathaniel Perkins in Boston, and was practising his profession in Taunton when called upon to serve with Robert Treat Paine, his brother-in-law, in the Provincial Congress, so called, which held its first meeting in Salem Oct. 5, 1774. In 1775 he appears as a member of the Committee of Inspection and Correspondence for Taunton. During a part of the year 1776 his name is borne upon the rolls of Col. Thomas Marshall's regiment as "Surgeon."<sup>2</sup> In January, 1777, he was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel in the Sixteenth Regiment, and later was assigned to duty on General Washington's staff. He was a gallant and meritorious officer; and at the close of the war his services were rewarded by a grant of land and the brevet rank of Brigadier-

<sup>1</sup> John Cobb was in Taunton as early as 1653. His relationship to Henry Cobb, one of the first settlers of Barnstable, has not been established. Savage says Augustine was "thought to be the brother of John"; but it appears, from an entry in the "Proprietor's Book," that he was a cousin.

<sup>2</sup> The Lieut. David Cobb who appears on the rolls of Captain Read's Company of Col. John Thomas's Regiment in 1775, was of Abington, Massachusetts.



*Sam'l C. Cobb.*

General.<sup>1</sup> As soon as he was relieved from military service, he was appointed (June 7, 1784) by Governor Hancock to be Special Justice of the Court of Common Pleas in Bristol County; and in the following year (Jan. 28, 1785) he was commissioned as one of the standing justices of that court. In December, 1785, he was chosen by the Legislature to be Major-General of the Fifth Division of the Massachusetts Militia. It was while holding these positions of Judge and General that he won something more than a local reputation, by his firmness in checking the riotous demonstrations against the law courts of the Commonwealth in the autumn of 1786.

General Cobb's subsequent career in the public service has been described elsewhere, and does not call for extended notice here.<sup>2</sup> He was Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives for four years (1789-1792); member of the Third Congress of the United States (Dec. 2, 1793, to March 3, 1795); President of the State Senate four years (1801-1804); member of the Executive Council eight years (1805, 1808, 1812-1817); Lieutenant-Governor of the Commonwealth, 1809; Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for Hancock County, District of Maine, from June 14, 1803, till 1809. He removed from Taunton to Gouldsborough, Maine, in 1795, having been appointed agent of the "Bingham Purchase." In 1799 he was appointed agent of the proprietors of Gouldsborough. His own grant of land for military service was in Sullivan, Maine. In 1821 he returned to Taunton, where he spent the remainder of his life,—a kind-hearted but somewhat choleric old gentleman, who did much to promote the educational and religious interests of his townsmen, and made it unpleasant for those who did not walk in the path which he appointed. He received the honorary degree of A.M. from New Jersey

<sup>1</sup> A portion of the private diary of General Cobb, covering the siege of Yorktown during the months of October and November, 1781, was printed in the *Proceedings*, vol. xix. pp. 67-72.

<sup>2</sup> A sketch of General Cobb's life is given in an address delivered at the Taunton Lyceum by the Hon. Francis Baylies, in 1830, printed in the "*New England Historical and Genealogical Register*," and reprinted in pamphlet form by Munsell, at Albany, in 1864. Short biographical notices are also given in Williams's "*American Medical Biography*," p. 82, and in the "*Memorials of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati*," editions of 1873 and 1890. Mr. Baylies's address contained many errors, some of which have been copied in subsequent notices. The statements given above in relation to General Cobb's public services have been verified from the official records at the State House.

College in 1783, and from Brown University in 1790; was a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, of the Massachusetts Medical Society, and of the Society of the Cincinnati, of which he was Vice-President in 1810.

General Cobb married, in 1766, Eleanor Bradish, and had six sons and five daughters. The youngest son (born Jan. 14, 1790; died Feb. 27, 1832) was named George Washington; but after the death of his brother David, who was killed by the Indians on the northwest coast, Oct. 24, 1794, he took the name of David George Washington. He was educated as a lawyer. In 1820 he was chosen to represent the town in the General Court, and in the following year was appointed Register of Probate for Bristol County. He held that office until his death, in 1832. He married Abby, daughter of the Hon. Samuel Crocker, of Taunton, and had two sons and two daughters.

The subject of this sketch, Samuel Crocker Cobb, was the second son, and was born in Taunton, May 22, 1826. Among other private schools which he attended in his early youth was the one kept by Rev. E. M. P. Wells, in South Boston. His stay there was brief and unsatisfactory. He was then sent to the Bristol Academy, in Taunton, of which his grandfather, General Cobb, was the founder in 1792.<sup>1</sup> He was fitted for college there, and expected to enter Harvard College in 1842; but much to his regret then, and indeed throughout his life, he was obliged to give up his studies and begin earning his own living. On Sept. 19, 1842, being then only a little over sixteen years of age, he became a clerk in the service of Messrs. A. & C. Cunningham, foreign shipping merchants, at No. 15 Rowe's Wharf in Boston. In his journal, of which some account will be given further on, he says, under date of April 24, 1845:—

“Sailed on board the bark *Kazan*, Capt. John Leckie, for Königsberg, Prussia. Arrived, May 19, 1845, at Elsinore, and left the bark at that port and proceeded to Königsberg by land, visiting Copenhagen, Stettin, and Berlin; at which latter city I took a diligence for K., passing through the interior of Prussia for a distance of about 370 English miles, which occupied fifty-two hours of continuous travelling. Passed through twenty-seven towns and villages. . . . Ship at Königsberg was consigned to Mr. F. S. Fischel, who received the outward and furnished

<sup>1</sup> So stated in a vote adopted by the Trustees of the Academy in 1796.

a return cargo, which consisted of hemp, spelter, bristles, and hog's hair. Sailed from Königsberg for Boston June 4, and anchored off the end of Long Wharf at 11 p. m., July 21, 1845. Returned to the counting-house of A. & C. Cunningham, and there remained as book-keeper till Oct. 5, 1846. Then embarked for Rio de Janeiro on board the brig *Cecilia*, Capt. Edward Leckie, — having purchased one half this vessel, and Mr. J. Henry Cunningham the other half, — and put on board a cargo for our joint account. Mr. Cunningham also took passage on board. Dec. 1, 1846, arrived at Rio de Janeiro, after a passage of fifty-seven days from Boston. Consigned the business to the care of Messrs. Le Coq & Co. Having arranged to send the *Cecilia* to New Orleans with a full freight of coffee, I decided to return to New York, to which port we had made a shipment of coffee; and Mr. Cunningham proceeded for New Orleans, to look after the business of the *Cecilia* at that port. Dec. 20, 1846, sailed from Rio de Janeiro, a passenger on board the ship *Courier*, Capt. Wm. Wolfe, and arrived Jan. 29, 1847, after a fine passage of 40 days. April 27, 1847, formed a business connection with my esteemed friend and former clerkmate, J. Henry Cunningham, under the firm name of Cunningham & Cobb, and took an office in a brick building, then new, opposite the head of Rowe's Wharf, Boston, on Broad Street (No. 169).<sup>1</sup> July 1, 1848, Chas. W. Cunningham, an older brother of Henry, was admitted a member of the firm, and the style was thereafter changed to Cunninghams & Cobb. Nov. 8, 1847, sailed from Boston for Rio de Janeiro, having taken passage on board the new ship *Peterhof*, Capt. Lewis Endicott, — Elisha Whiting, first officer. This fine ship was built by Sam'l Hall at East Boston, and was designed expressly for the Russian trade, and coffee trade as well. Arrived at Rio de Janeiro, Dec. 24, '47, after a passage of 46 days. Jan. 22, 1848, sailed from Rio de Janeiro for New Orleans, having concluded my business there and taken passage on board the *Peterhof*."

On Nov. 21, 1848, he married (at Belfast, Maine) Aurelia L. Beattie, of East Thomaston, Maine, third daughter of William and Jane D. Beattie of that town.

Under date of Nov. 14, 1849, he says: —

"Sailed from Boston, accompanied by Mrs. Cobb and servant, on board the bark *Orono*, Capt. Christopher Chase, for Messina, Sicily, the firm of which I was a member having chartered this vessel (owned by Col. Black of Ellsworth, Me.) for a voyage to Sicily and back. We arrived at Messina after a pleasant passage of about thirty-five days, and consigned the vessel to a German house, Messrs. D. Claussen &

<sup>1</sup> The place of business was subsequently removed to No. 16 Rowe's Wharf.

Co., who took charge of and sold the outward cargo, which consisted principally of oranges and lemons. At Messina we met Capt. Wm. Beecher, of New York. We also met there Gustavus Tuckerman and Theodore S. Bigelow, both of Boston and old acquaintances of mine. The American consul, Mr. F. W. Behn, and Mrs. B. (of Kentucky) were exceedingly kind to us and showed us many attentions, as did also Mr. Claussen and family. We met there also Capt. Latimer, then in command of the U. S. frigate Cumberland, and several of his officers. We proceeded from Messina in a small steamer to Palermo (about twelve hours) early in January, 1850, where business detained me until February 22, when we embarked on board the bark *Rover*, Capt. Nelson, for New York, and arrived there after a stormy passage of sixty days. At Palermo we formed many acquaintances, some of which proved forever afterwards highly esteemed and valued friends. Among others, we met Messrs. James Rose and Edward Gardner, of the house of Gardner, Rose & Co., with whom for twenty-eight years afterwards I enjoyed an uninterrupted business correspondence and intercourse; also Mr. and Mrs. John M. Marston (Mrs. Marston was sister of John E. and Nathaniel Thayer, bankers, of Boston, Mass.), then, and for many years subsequently, the U. S. Consul at that port."

The firm of Cunninghams & Cobb was dissolved in 1850, when the house of A. Cunningham & Sons was formed. Mr. Cobb then made arrangements to go to the East Indies and remain there as the agent of Weld & Baker; but on the eve of sailing he had some difficulty with his principals, and withdrew from their service.

In 1851 he formed a partnership with Mr. Josiah Wheelwright for the prosecution of a foreign shipping and commission business. The firm occupied the store No. 47 Central Wharf. This connection continued till August, 1858, when the firm was by mutual consent dissolved, Mr. Wheelwright retiring from active business.

From 1858 until 1878 Mr. Cobb carried on business alone and in his own name, first on Central Wharf, afterward at No. 3 Merchants' Row, and later in the New England Mutual Life Insurance Building on Milk Street. In his journal he says:

"During the twenty years I was alone in business I was engaged principally in the Sicily trade, and with the Cape de Verde Islands and Northwest Coast of Africa (Senegal and Gambia). But I found time to prosecute the Brazil trade (Pernambuco and Bahia) to some extent, also that of Russia and Malaga. A portion of my business was on commission, mainly with Palermo, Sicily, and Liverpool, England. I

became interested, from time to time, in vessels which I employed in my own business and occasionally chartered. In carrying on the Cape de Verde and West Coast of Africa business, I was jointly interested with Mr. Francis C. Butman, of Salem, doing business in Boston. We shared the labor, each one undertaking to carry on a portion of the business in our individual names for our joint account. We prosecuted at one time the Pernambuco and Bahia business in the same manner and to our mutual advantage."

From 1860 to 1877 Mr. Cobb gave considerable time to the public service, often at the expense of his private interests. He was originally a member of the Whig party, and voted for the candidates of that party as long as it existed in sufficient strength to make nominations. He never felt at home in any other party. After 1860 he generally acted with the Democratic organizations on State and national questions; but on questions of local government he refused to be bound by any party caucus or convention. He was essentially a business man, and held and expressed very decided opinions on the absurdity of bringing national party politics to bear in the determination of questions relating to roadways, sewers, water-supply, and local police. In his public speeches and addresses he lost no opportunity of trying to impress the voters with the fact that in the management of the affairs of municipal corporations the same rules should apply as in the management of large business corporations, and that the introduction of party tests which have no relation to local affairs has done much to corrupt the service and bring our system of local government into disrepute.

In 1860 Mr. Cobb was elected a member of the Roxbury Board of Aldermen, and served for two years with credit to himself and his constituents. He was then called to Europe on business connected with his shipping interests, which had been seriously affected by the war. On the annexation of Roxbury to Boston, in 1867, he was elected to the Boston Board of Aldermen. At that time the members of the board were voted for on a general ticket; and it is a striking evidence of the estimation in which he was held by his neighbors, and of the position he then occupied as one of the leading merchants of Boston, that he was chosen by a nearly unanimous vote. The charter under which the city was then ruled provided that the executive powers of the government should be

exercised by the Board of Aldermen ; but the Common Council had usurped a large share of the executive functions by having a stronger numerical representation upon joint committees which practically controlled many of the departments. Mr. Cobb was one of the first to see the weakness of the existing system, and to urge a greater concentration of power and responsibility. He found that the duties of the Aldermanic office demanded the larger part of his time, and that the results of his labor were far from satisfactory. For these reasons he declined a re-election. But in the following year he accepted a position on the Board of Public Institutions, where his firmness of purpose and business ability were brought to bear with practical results which the average citizen could well appreciate. A very determined effort was being made to commit the city to the building and maintenance of a great institution for the insane on a lot of land which the best expert opinion had condemned as unsuitable. Mr. Cobb took the ground that it was the duty of the State to provide such institutions ; and that, in any case, the site selected and the plans submitted were defective and ought not to be approved. During his service of about four years and a half on the board he introduced some reforms in the purchase of supplies and in the business management of the institutions which were of lasting value.

On Nov. 11, 1873, at a meeting of the citizens of Boston which included prominent members of the two leading political parties, Mr. Cobb was unanimously nominated for the office of Mayor. The City Committees of the Democratic and Republican parties also nominated him at a later day ; and on the day of election he received 19,191 votes, while his only opponent, a Prohibitionist, received 568. Although the local politicians had no liking for him, the popular demand for his re-election in the following year was so strong that the leaders of the two parties felt obliged to nominate him again, and he was chosen for a second term by a nearly unanimous vote. In 1875 the party leaders made a desperate effort to get possession of the office, and with that view succeeded in getting both the Democratic and Republican City Committees to unite on another candidate. Mr. Cobb had stated that he should not be a candidate for a third term ; but a paper asking him to serve another year received the signatures of some two thousand prominent citizens, and he did not feel

at liberty to decline such a call. A spirited contest followed, resulting in the election of Mr. Cobb by a plurality of 2,574 votes. He states in his journal that he did not contribute, nor was he solicited to contribute any money, directly or indirectly, toward the expenses of his election.

At the time Mr. Cobb was placed at the head of the government the population of the city had reached a point which made a change in the methods of administration almost as imperative as it was when the representative system was substituted for the popular assembly. The annexation of Charlestown, West Roxbury, and Brighton had nearly doubled the municipal area, and had added about 44,000 inhabitants. The first city charter was drawn on lines as close to the town-meeting system as the representative plan would allow. The revision of 1854, necessitated to some extent by the amendments to the State Constitution, tended to weaken what indeed had most need of strengthening, — the executive power and responsibility of the Chief Executive. Hon. Henry L. Pierce, who had preceded Mr. Cobb in the office of Mayor, had been so impressed with the inefficiency of the old system that he had recommended the appointment of a commission to revise the charter. The recommendation had been adopted by the City Council, and the Commission had been appointed in the latter part of 1873, and had entered upon its duties. Mr. Cobb, in his first inaugural address, warmly commended the action, and said :

“I am satisfied that the affairs of the city can be managed with greater economy and efficiency by vesting in the City Council all the legislative powers of the Corporation, and in the Mayor and certain boards and heads of departments all the executive powers.”

And in subsequently transmitting to the City Council the report of the Commission, he said : —

“The work is marked by an intelligent conservatism, suited to the traditions and customs of our people. No changes are proposed in the present methods of carrying on the government except those which have borne the test of experience, and which are clearly demanded by the present condition and prospective growth of the city. It has long been apparent that the business of the government has suffered from the lack of permanence and responsibility in the legislative and executive departments. As the city increases in area and

population, this defect in our organization becomes more and more conspicuous. . . . It is evident that the city has now reached a point in its growth where a change is as much needed as it was in 1822. The people have lost their homogeneous character. The duties of the local government can no longer be performed in the neighborly spirit which is characteristic of smaller communities. Training and experience are necessary to the proper administration of our affairs. To secure this, the tenure of office must be increased, the legislative functions must be separated as far as practicable from the executive functions, and the responsibility for the faithful and intelligent execution of the laws must be clearly defined."

The two branches of the City Council were unable to agree either upon the charter recommended by the Commission or upon any modification of it; but some of its provisions were subsequently incorporated into special laws relating to the city. It was fortunate, perhaps, that the plan of government submitted by the Commission was not adopted as a whole. It was too elaborate; it provided for too many heads of departments, and it undertook to limit and define their duties so closely that there was no room left for discretion, and no inducement to take the initiative in any new work. The need of a strong and responsible executive was not so generally recognized then as it was at a later day. It was necessary that the inefficiency and wastefulness of the old system should be brought out more clearly before anything like an adequate remedy could be applied. Mr. Cobb and others, who heartily supported the plan as reported, did not regard it as a measure good for all time, but simply as a step — and at that time it was looked upon as a long step — in the direction of separating and defining the powers of government and securing a better system of accountability. Ten years later Mr. Cobb, as Chairman of a Commission appointed by the Mayor, recommended a plan which went much further in the direction of strengthening the power of the Chief Executive and curtailing the powers of the Legislative Department; and public opinion had so far changed in the mean time that the leading propositions were adopted without serious opposition, and incorporated into the Act under which the city is now governed.

A number of important Acts affecting the future welfare of the city were adopted during Mr. Cobb's administration. In his first message to the City Council, Jan. 5, 1874, he said :

"I am decidedly in favor of the establishment of several public squares in different sections of the city, to be connected together if practicable, and which shall be easily accessible to the people; and I believe this to be a suitable time to decide on some definite plan, with a view to proceeding with the work at an early day. The first outlay, though distributed over several years, will no doubt be large; but the experience of other cities can be cited to show that, as a business transaction, aside from the sanitary benefits, it would be a financial success."

Upon this recommendation a petition was sent to the General Court, and in the following year an Act was passed which authorized the establishment of the present system of public parks.

It was also upon his recommendation that the important department of Water Supply was transferred from the unpaid and inefficient board (composed of members of the City Council, and of citizens at large elected by the City Council) to a commission of three persons selected by the Mayor and paid for their services.

During the second year of his administration, and largely perhaps through his influence, an Act was passed to regulate and limit municipal indebtedness. This enabled him to introduce what he tersely described as "the pay-as-you-go policy,"—that is, to raise sufficient money by taxation annually to pay all expenses except those incurred for the enlargement of the water-works, for which a separate tax is levied. What he was able to do in that direction gave him more satisfaction as a business man than all the rest of his work in the Mayor's office.

At the conclusion of his three years' service he was able to say that the tax levy had been reduced \$2,775,098; and that the rate of taxation had been reduced from \$15.60 on a thousand dollars to \$12.70, notwithstanding the fact that the valuation of real and personal property had been reduced in the mean time by the amount of \$49,876,950.

Soon after retiring from the Mayor's office, Mr. Cobb went to Europe, where he spent some months in travelling. On his return he was chosen (Sept. 1, 1877) President of the Revere National Bank, to succeed the Hon. Samuel H. Walley, who had recently deceased. Much to the regret of the Directors of the bank, he resigned the presidency on March 30, 1878, to

accept the position of Actuary in the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, formerly held by the Hon. George Tyler Bigelow. Of his services in this office — which is one of much dignity and responsibility, but by no means one of ease in these days of accumulated capital competing for investment — the Board of Control placed on their records, after his death, the following statement:—

“During the thirteen years that Mr. Cobb was connected with the company he conducted its affairs with ability, prudence, and skill; with conscientious fidelity to the duties of his responsible position, and entire devotion to the administration of the trust confided to him. His high and manly character, his sagacity and public spirit, his genial temper, generous disposition, and courteous bearing, united to win the love and esteem of all who were associated with him, while throughout the community he was recognized and honored as a loyal, far-seeing, influential, and useful citizen.”

Mr. Cobb well illustrated the saying that it is the busy man who finds time for everything. His intimate and peculiar knowledge of commercial affairs and of the financial standing of his business contemporaries led to a constant demand for his services in positions of public and private trust, and on boards of arbitration selected by the courts or by the parties in interest. He gave much time, and often to the injury of his health, in aid of the various charitable, religious, and educational institutions to which he belonged. He had a keen sense of his responsibility in every position in which he happened to be placed. The Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati, of which at the time of his death he was president, placed on record the statement that “his services to the Society as an officer for more than twenty-five years, and as a member of its Standing Committee since 1861, is a history of constant and disinterested devotion. None took a higher pride in its membership than he; none watched more constantly over the maintenance of its traditions and usages; none guarded it more jealously against any tendencies toward the destruction of ancient and useful landmarks.”

Mr. Cobb was for some years an active and influential member of the Board of Directors of the Institute of Technology. He was also one of the Directors of the Old Colony Railroad Company, a Trustee of the Bay State Trust Company

and of the Forest Hills Cemetery ; Chairman of the Commission to select a site and build the Danvers Hospital for the Insane ; and Treasurer of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians.

He was often called upon to speak in public as the representative of the city or of some organization of which he was a member, and although without either special training or natural aptitude for such service, he acquitted himself well. On occasions for which he was able to make some preparation beforehand, the matter and form of his addresses were excellent. His address of welcome to the city's guests at the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill (June 16, 1875), his oration on the centennial anniversary of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati (July 4, 1883), and his speech at the banquet of the General Society of the Cincinnati in Baltimore (May, 1890) contain matter of historical value.

During the greater part of his business life Mr. Cobb lived on Highland Street, in Roxbury, having for his next-door neighbor Rev. George Putnam, D.D., of whose church he was long one of the most active and valued members. In 1878 he removed to Boylston Street, in Boston, and subsequently became a member of the First Church, Berkeley Street.

Until middle life he was a man of more than ordinarily strong and vigorous constitution. In 1870 he had a serious illness, growing out of his arduous services in the Board of Aldermen in addition to his large private business. He never fully recovered his former vigor, although outwardly he showed no signs of impaired health until the spring of 1890. He was then suffering intense pain from an internal disease, but continued to perform his usual amount of work until the peremptory orders of his physician obliged him to desist. The nature and extent of his illness were not fully known until near the end. After many weeks of suffering, which he bore with admirable courage, "sustained and soothed by an unfaltering trust," he passed away peacefully and apparently without pain, on Feb 18, 1891. He was buried at Forest Hills Cemetery.

Mr. Cobb's character was not one that calls for elaborate analysis. He was a thoroughly healthy-minded man, to whom life was sweet. He possessed a singularly frank and open

nature, and was candid and direct in motive and purpose. He had a good knowledge of character and sound business instincts. His mental and physical courage were equal to any emergency; and his promptness in action, and contempt for anything like trifling or a want of resolution, showed that he had inherited the prominent traits which history and tradition have assigned to his paternal grandfather.

At a very early age he began to keep a diary, in which he noted, at first in the briefest form, his own doings from day to day. Later he introduced some comments on those with whom he came in contact, and on the principal events of the times. He also kept in addition, during the latter years of his life, a journal, in which he gave biographical notices of his contemporaries and some account of the affairs in which he took part or in which he felt a special interest. The value of the work is somewhat impaired by the form in which it was put, and by the difficulty of separating the statements made on the writer's personal knowledge from those copied from the newspapers of the day. It has, however, considerable historical value, and is well worth preservation as a work of reference.